

EXTRACTS
FROM
THE EVIDENCE
DELIVERED BEFORE A
SELECT COMMITTEE
Great Britain - Parliament
HOUSE OF COMMONS,
IN THE YEARS 1790 AND 1791;
ON THE PART OF
THE PETITIONERS
FOR THE
ABOLITION
OF THE
SLAVE-TRADE.

HE THAT STEALETH A MAN, AND SELLETH HIM—SHALL SURELY BE
PUT TO DEATH. EXOD. XXI. 16.

“ Where’er the mantling bowl the banquet cheers,
“ Wherever canes their balmy sweets impart,
“ There flows the fountain of an *Æthiop*’s tears,
“ There swells the sigh that speaks a broken heart.
“ Then cease the wretched *Æthiop* to deplore,
“ Nor dare the name of pity more profane;
“ Or else your darling luxuries give o’er,
“ And spurn the fardid pleasure bought with pain.”

L O N D O N :

PRINTED FOR L. WAYLAND, N^o 2, MIDDLE-ROW, HOLBORN; AND
SOLD BY J. S. JORDAN, FLEET-STREET. 1791.

(Price Fourpence.)

Rec^d March 20. 1845
Gift of Mr J. A. Blunt
of Boston

ADVERTISEMENT.

A sincere desire to serve the cause of humanity, by circulating information at as low a rate as possible, is the only reason the EDITOR can assign for publishing these Extracts. Should any be anxious to know more of human woe, they are earnestly requested to enquire for the Abstract of the Evidence, published by J. Phillips, George Yard, Lombard Street.

INTRODUCTION.

PERHAPS no cause ever excited the attention of the humane part of society with a better grace, than that of the oppressed Africans. Slavery, in its best state, is incompatible with the nature of man; as a proof of which, let us turn our eyes to the meanest mechanic, the lowest peasant, or even to the poor beggars, who are to be met with in every corner of the metropolis. Even dire necessity will not stimulate the two former to submit implicitly to the *undeserved* menaces of their employers, nor can the policy of the country prevent a great number of the latter description from preferring the scanty donations of charity to the confinement of a parish workhouse. Every individual feels an internal right to freedom. Unhappily, however, for the victims of slavery, many, too many, who feel so tenacious of their own liberty, forget that there *are* beings in the world who are deprived of this darling blessing, for the purpose of procuring them luxurious, but cursed gratifications. It is, however, to be hoped, that the dictates of *humanity*, added to those of *christianity*, will so far gain ground, as speedily to prevent the horrid combination of one part of the human species against the other. Both unite in requiring us to *do to another, as we would they should do unto us*. In the present case, alas! how is this pressing appeal to the conscience violated!—else, why be even the most distant means of procuring so abject a state to our fellow-creatures?

To the honour of humanity, be it remembered, that there are societies established for procuring the liberty of some who have forfeited their right to it, by the laws of their country, as well as others who have unfortunately been deprived of it*. Institutions so highly laudable cannot but excite the applause of every feeling mind; but let not so universal a commendation be sullied by the encouragement of devastation, rapine, and murder, with a train of other atrocious vices.

* The Societies for relieving debtors, and the Society for ransoming captured slaves.

In the present case, relief is requested, by *only* the small sacrifice of refusing the produce of this detested slavery.—Sugar and rum are in themselves so very insignificant, that it were better for families in general, had they never been introduced; so that a double benefit attaches itself to the refusal.

Parents, in particular, by making comparisons in their own bosoms, will find inexpressible motives to urge their commiseration for the poor African. Suppose, for instance, your prattling infant artfully stolen from your embraces, by some abject wretch (and there are instances of the kind), how would your feeling heart be wrung!—what poignant sorrow would infest your bosom!—how many thousand anxious piercing thoughts would rack your heart! Hunger, cruelty, death, with a train of horrid prepossessions, would deprive you of every comfort of life. You would bewail your own situation, as well as that of your child, in the most penetrating language, and justly execrate the wretch who dared to be the means of your misery.

The same observations will equally apply to every social intercourse in life. Let the wife consult her feelings, and say, how she would, under such circumstances, like to be torn from her husband—the husband from his wife—the child from its parent—the brother from his sister—the sister from her brother—or even the school-boy from his fellow, and the friend from his friend? Say, Christian, if you can, that you could bear those separations without emotion, and I dare not plead the sorrows of slavery before you.

Can you then be so mean as to suppose, that social ties are only lended in European texture? Did not the same Maker form you, as created the injured negroes?—Yes, he did, and gave them minds, too, as susceptible as your own. Instead of gratitude for the distinctions of Providence, tyrant man usurps a superiority disgraceful to civilization.

We are required to *do good* even to *enemies*; but surely the Giver of every good gift never intended to sanction the oppression of innocence, by recommending mercy for the guilty. So preposterous a position would be an evident insult to Deity. Unless, then, it can be supposed, that the Almighty looks with complacency on *man-traffic*, with all its odious concomitants, and smiles with approbation on the wretch who can plunder and murder with impunity; the promoters of it, by the most distant means, must continue highly reprehensible. Were I informed, that the man who offered me commodities for sale, had hired a set of ruffians to rob a family, murder some part, and enslave another, *christianity*, *morality*, and even *common honesty*, would persuade me to reject the proposal with abhorrence, and turn indignantly from the purchase of his villainy. No one, surely, will attempt to deny, but an opposite conduct would be highly culpable.—The slaves, then, have claims equally pressing on humanity.

That

INTRODUCTION.

That those who bear the name of Christians, should so long have beheld human nature vilely degraded, without reflecting on the means, and tracing them to their source, is somewhat astonishing; but that there should at this moment be found professors of christianity so far in love with oppression, as even to ransack the Sacred Volume for a systematic support of it, is quite shocking. Instead of feeling disgust at the indignity offered to one part of the human race, and rather than not satiate their brutal appetites (for it is *brutal* not to be able to govern them), they *piously* resort to curses denounced of old, to the *customs* of past ages, and to *any* other subterfuge their silly imaginations, and obdurate hearts, can frame.

Although the Moor and the Algerine cannot advert to the authority of *Scripture*, in support of making slaves of their captives, yet with a far better grace they advert to interest and *custom*. Not one, I presume, is to be found among the inhabitants of Great Britain, who would not shudder at the bare idea of being enslaved by either.—Is there not a settled enmity between us, on account of their continuing so vile a custom? But will any one attempt to prove, that they have *not* a *better* right to enslave Europeans, who may be found on their shores, than Europeans have to go to the African coast, and enslave the inhabitants?

It is, I confess, rather extraordinary, that a *keen* palate should deprive its possessor of *sensibility*; and yet, how evidently this appears in the conduct of *many* modern zealots. If you tell them of the sufferings of the poor Africans, *they* coolly reply that “they have nothing to do with it; they purchase the commodities honestly; and as to any previous transactions, they are not accountable.—If they give up sugar, they must renounce many favourite gratifications which, they conceive, they are not called upon to do. They have been informed, that it is the interest of the planters to take care of their slaves, as well as the farmer of his horses.” In answer, I would only observe, that the ale-drunkard, with much more reason on his side, will inform you, that he has purchased *his* favourite beverage, and is beholden to no man for it—it is not the produce of robbery, nor the price of human blood—no one was wilfully driven to death to procure it for him—nor had he ever heard of weeping fathers and distracted mothers being separated from each other, and from their tender infants, to gratify his propensity. The injuries the drunkard commits then is chiefly on himself; but every family who consumes sugar and rum, is the *primary* cause of the murder of an innocent victim. The following accounts, I think, will justify the calculation.—I would ask, Do the farmers *invariably* take care of their horses? Are not many cruel to a *great* degree? Admitting the positions either way, is there *no* difference between *man* and *beast*? Were you reduced to a

similar fate, *would you* be content with the humanity which the peasant bestows on his horse? Except we anticipate the situation of others, it is very probable, a mistaken estimate will be the consequence.

There is another part of the pious slave advocates' conduct, which justly deserves to be severely reprobated; and that is, the daily insult offered to their Maker, by craving his blessing on the produce of slavery. As well might the dealer in stolen goods expect a blessing on his *infamous* conduct; and it must be confessed there is some affinity in the two cases.

To those who have been informed of the outrages committed on humanity, the plea of *ignorance* cannot again be admitted. Let the professor, therefore, heartily join, and either do a small penance at the shrine of humanity; or, by continuing in the *diabolical combination*, throw off the mask of religion: remembering, however, that for such conduct an account must be rendered. Social and religious virtues were never intended to be separated in the Christian.

These are only a few spontaneous observations. I would recommend the "Address to the Inhabitants of Great Britain," and a "Vindication of that Address," sold by Mrs. Gurney, Holborn, for farther information. The following pages, it is to be hoped, will awaken a thousand persuasives in the breast of every humane reader, to renounce the produce of blood. Leave it to those who would be nearer a-kin to the savage brute; and receive in lieu such consolation as the nature of the case will amply admit. Future generations will be impressed with disgust and horror at the insensibility of those who oppose your benevolent exertions, but will pride themselves in the recollection, that *some* of their ancestors were endued with virtue enough to reject with disdain the price of oppression.

EXTRACTS

FROM

THE EVIDENCE, &c.

CHAP. I.

The Method of procuring Slaves for Sale.

THE trade for slaves, (says Mr. Kiernan) in the river Senegal, was chiefly with the Moors, on the northern banks, who got them very often by war, and not seldom by kidnapping; that is, lying in wait near a village, where there was *no open war*, and seizing whom they could.

He has often heard of villages, and seen the remains of such, broken up by making the people slaves.

Mr Dalrymple says that, as to kidnapping, it is so notorious about Goree, that he never heard any person deny it there; but has even heard them boast of it.

Captain Wilson says, that slaves are either procured by intestine wars, or kings breaking up villages, or crimes real or imputed, or kidnapping.

It is universally acknowledged, that free persons are sold for *imputed crimes, for the benefit of their judges.*

Captain Hills saw, while lying between Goree and the continent, the natives, in an evening, often go out in war-dresses, as he found, *to obtain slaves for King Damel, to be sold.*

Mr. Bowman says, he has been called up in the night to see *fires*, and told, by the town's people, *that it was war carrying on.*

Lieutenant Simpson says, from what he saw, he believes the slave trade is the occasion of wars among the natives. From the natives of the windward coast he understood that the villages were always at war; and the black traders and others gave as a reason for it, *that the kings wanted slaves.*

Dr. Trotter having often asked Accra, principal trader at Lea Hou, what he meant by *prisoners of war*? found they were such as were carried off by a set of marauders, who ravage the country for that purpose. The bush-men making war to make trade (that is to make slaves) was a common way of speaking among the traders. The practice was also confirmed by the slaves on board, who shewed by gestures how the robbers had come upon them; and during their passage from Africa to the West Indies, some of the boy-slaves played a game, which they called *slave-taking*, or bush-fighting; shewing the different manœuvres thereof in leaping, sallying, and retreating. Enquiries of this nature, put to women, were answered only by violent bursts of sorrow.

Mr. Falconbridge has heard that the great men on the gold coast, dress up and employ women to entice young men to be connected with them, that they may be convicted of adultery, and sold. He does not believe that many of these slaves are prisoners of war, as we understand the word war*. In Africa, a piratical expedition, for making slaves, is termed war. A considerable trader at Bonny explained to him the meaning of this word, and said, that they went in the night, set fire to the towns, and caught the people as they fled from the flames. The same trader said, that this practice was very common.

CHAP. II.

Europeans, by Means of the Trade in Slaves, the Occasion of these Enormities.

MR TOWN observes, that the intercourse of the Africans with the Europeans, has improved them in roguery, to plunder and steal, and pick up one another to sell.

Dr. Trotter, asking a black trader, what they made of their slaves, when the French and English were at war, was answered, that when ships ceased to come, slaves ceased to be taken.

Mr. Wadstrom says, that King Barbesin, while he, Mr. Wadstrom was at Joal, was unwilling to pillage his subjects; but he was excited to it by means of constant intoxication, kept up by the French and mulattoes of the embassy, who generally agreed every morning on taking this method to effect their purpose. When sober, he always expressed a reluctance to harass his people.

Mr Morley owns, with shame, that he has made the natives drunk, in order to buy a good man or woman slave, to whom he found them attached. Captain Hildebrand, commanding a sloop

* The reader is earnestly requested to the notice, that the word war, as adopted into the African language, means in general robbery or a marauding expedition for the purpose of getting slaves. Two noted black traders are found themselves to have explained the term to two of the evidences (Trotter and Falconbridge,) and it appears decided by the accounts of Wadstrom, Towne, Bowman, Storey, Morley, and J. Parker, that the catching of men is denominated by the Africans to be war.

of Mr. Brue's, bought one of the wives of a man, *whom he had previously made drunk.*

On the subject of Europeans attempting to carry off the natives, General Rooke says, that it was proposed to him by three captains of English slave-ships, lying under the fort of Goree, to kidnap a hundred, or a hundred and fifty men, women, and children, King Damel's subjects, who had come to Goree, in consequence of the friendly intercourse between him and Damel. He refused, and was much shocked by the proposition.

The Reverend Mr Newton has sometimes found all trade stopped, and the depredations of the European traders have been assigned *as the cause.*

Mr Town was once present with part of the crew of his ship, the Sally, at an expedition, undertaken by the whites, for seizing negroes, and joined by other boats to receive those they could catch. To prevent all alarm, they bound the mouths of the captives with oakum and handkerchiefs.

Mr. Ellison knew two slaves taken from the island of Fernandipo, by the Dopson's boat of Liverpool, and carried to Old Calabar, where the ship lay.

As a farther corroboration, that such practices as the above take place, it appears in evidence, that the natives of the coast and islands are found constantly hovering in their canoes, at a distance, about such vessels as are passing by, shy of coming on board, for fear of being taken. (Hall, Falconbridge, Claxton, Bowman, &c.) But if they discover that such vessels are *not in the slave-trade, but are men of war*, they come on board readily (Sir George Young) or *without any hesitation*; which they would not otherwise have done, (Mr Howe), and *in numbers*, (Lieutenant Simpson), and traverse the ships with *as much confidence as if they had been on shore* (Captain Wilson).

Mr. Falconbridge heard Captain Vicars, of a Bristol ship, say at Bonny, when his traders were slack, he fired a gun into or over the town, to freshen their way.

C H A P. III.

The enslaved Africans come dejected on Board.—Cause of this Dejection.—Mode of Stowage, with its Consequences, &c.

ON being brought on board, says Dr. Trotter, they shew signs of extreme distress and despair, from a feeling of their situation, and regret at being torn from their friends and connections. Many retain those impressions a long time. In proof of which, the slaves, on board his ship, being often heard in the night making a howling melancholy noise, expressive of extreme anguish; he repeatedly ordered the woman, who had been his interpreter, to enquire into the cause. She discovered it to be owing to their having dreamt they were in their own country again, and finding themselves, when awake, in the hold of a slave-ship. This exquisite sensibility was parti-

particularly observable among the women; many of whom, on such occasions, he found in hysteric fits.

Captain Hall says, after the first eight or ten of them come on board, the men are put in irons. They are linked two and two together by the hands and feet, in which situation they continue till they arrive in the West Indies, except such as may be sick, whose irons are taken off. The women, however, he says, are always loose.

On being brought up in a morning, says Surgeon Wilson, an additional mode of securing them takes place; for, to the shackles of each pair of them there is a ring, through which is reeved a large chain, which locks them all in a body to ring-bolts fastened to the deck.

On the subject of the stowage, and its consequences, Dr. Trotter says, that the slaves in the passage are so crowded below, that it is impossible to walk through them *without treading on them*. He has seen the slaves drawing their breath with all those laborious and anxious efforts for life, *which are observed in expiring animals, subjected by experiment to foul air, or in the exhausted receiver of an air-pump*.

Mr. Falconbridge also states, on this head, that when employed in stowing the slaves, he made the most of the room, and *wedged them in*. They had not so much room as *a man in his coffin*, either in length or breadth. It was impossible for them to turn or shift with any degree of ease. He had often occasion to go from one side of their rooms to the other, in which case he always *took off his shoes*, but could not avoid pinching them. He has the marks on his feet where they bit and scratched him. He has known them *go down apparently in good health at night, and found dead in the morning*.

He was never among them for ten minutes below together, but his shirt was as wet as if dipped in water.

The *crowded state* of the slaves, and the *pulling off the shoes* by the surgeons, as described above, that they might not hurt them, in traversing their rooms, are additionally mentioned by Surgeons, Wilson and Claxton. The slaves are said, also, by Hall and Wilson, to *complain on account of heat*. Both Hall, Town, and Morley, describe them as often in a *violent perspiration* or *dew sweat*. Mr. Ellison has seen them *faint through heat*, and obliged to be brought on deck, the steam coming up through the grating like a furnace. In Wilson and Town's ships, some have *gone below well in an evening, and in the morning have been found dead*; and Mr. Newton has often seen a dead and living man chained together; and, to use his own words, *one of the pair dead*.

Mr. Falconbridge says, that there is a place in every ship for the sick slaves; but there are no accommodations for them, for *they lie on the bare planks*. He has seen frequently the prominent part of their bones, about the shoulder-blade and knees, *bare*.

He says he cannot conceive any situation so dreadful and disgusting as that of slaves when ill of the flux. In the Alexander

ander, the deck was covered with blood and mucus; and resembled a slaughter-house. The stench and foul air were intolerable.

He has known several slaves on board refuse sustenance, with a design to starve themselves. Compulsion was used, in every ship he was in, to make them take their food. He has known also many instances of their refusing to take medicines when sick, because they wished to die.

The ships, he says, are fitted up with a view to prevent slaves jumping overboard; notwithstanding which, he has known instances of their doing so. In the *Alexander* two were lost in this way. In the same voyage, near twenty jumped overboard out of the *Enterprise*, Captain Wilson; and several from a large Frenchman in Bonny river.

Dr. Trotter remembers an instance of a woman, who perished from refusing food. She was repeatedly flogged, and victuals forced into her mouth; but no means could make her swallow it, and she lived for the four last days in a state of torpid insensibility.

Mr. Wilson says, it hurt his feelings much, to be obliged to use the cat so frequently, to force them to take their food. In the very act of chastisement they have looked up at him with a smile, and, in their own language, have said, "*presently we shall be no more.*"

All the above incidents, described as to have happened in the middle passage, are amply corroborated by the other evidences. *The slaves lie on the bare boards*, says Surgeon Wilson. They are frequently bruised, and the prominent parts of the body excoriated, adds the same gentleman, as also Trotter and Newton. They have been seen by Morley wallowing in their blood and excrement. Claxton, Ellifson, and Hall describe them as refusing sustenance, and compelled to eat by the whip. Morley has seen the pannekin dashed against their teeth, and the rice held in their mouths, to make them swallow it, till they were almost strangled; and they have even been thumbscrewed* with this view, in the ships of Town and Millar.

Another incident on the passage is, insurrections on the part of the slaves. Some of these frequently attempted to rise, but were prevented, (Wilson, Town, Trotter, Newton, Dalrymple, Ellifson); others rose, but were quelled, (Ellifson, Newton, Falconbridge); and others rose, and succeeded, killing almost all the whites, (Falconbridge and Town). Mr. Town says that, enquiring of the slaves into the cause of these insurrections, he has been asked, *what business he had to carry them from their country. They had wives and children, whom they wanted to be with.*

After an insurrection, Mr. Ellifson says, he has seen them flog-

* To shew the severity of this punishment, Mr. Dove says, that while two slaves were under the torture of the thumb-screws, the sweat ran down their faces, and they trembled as under a violent ague-fit; and Mr. Ellifson has known instances of their dying, a mortification having taken place in their thumbs, in consequence of these screws.

ged, and the cook's fork and tongs *beated to burn their flesh*. Mr. Newton also adds, that it is usual for captains, after insurrections and plots happen, to flog the slaves. Some captains, on board of whose ships he has been, added the thumb-screw; and one in particular told him repeatedly, that he *had put slaves to death, after an insurrection, by various modes of torture*.

Mr. Morley says that, in four voyages, he purchased about 1325, and lost about 313. Mr. Town, in two voyages, 630, and lost 115. Mr. Claxton, in one voyage, 250, and lost 132. In this voyage, he says they were so streightened for provisions, that if they had been ten days more at sea, they must either have eaten the slaves that died, or have made the living slaves *walk the plank*; a term in use among Guinea Captains for making the slaves throw themselves overboard. He says also that he fell in with the hero, Capt. Withers, which had lost 360 slaves, or more than half her cargo, by the small pox. The surgeon of the hero told him, that when the slaves were removed from one place to another, *they left marks of their skin and blood upon the deck*, and it was the most horrid sight he had ever seen.

Mr. Wilson states, that in his ship and three others belonging to the same concern, they purchased among them 2064 slaves, and lost 586. He adds, that he has known some ships, in the slave trade bury a quarter, some a third, and others half their cargo. *It is very uncommon to find ships without some loss in their slaves*.

The causes of the disorders which carry off the slaves in such numbers, are ascribed by Mr. Falconbridge to a *diseased mind, sudden transitions from heat to cold, a putrid atmosphere, wallowing in their own excrements, and being shackled together*. A diseased mind, he says is undoubtedly one of the causes; for many of the slaves on board refused medicines, giving as a reason that *they wanted to die*, and could never be cured. Some few on the other hand, *who did not appear to think so much of their situation, recovered*. That shackling together is another cause, was evident from the circumstance of the men dying in *twice the proportion the women did*; and so long as the trade continues, he adds, *they must be shackled together*, for no man will attempt to carry them out of irons.

Surgeon Wilson says that, of the death of two thirds of those who died in his ship, the primary cause was *melancholy*.

Mr. Town says, they often fall sick, sometimes owing to their crowded state, but *mostly to grief for being carried away from their country and friends* *.

Mr. Wilson says, his reason for leaving the trade was the being

* It is evident from hence, *that no regulation of the trade can heal the evils in this branch of the subject*. It can never cure *melancholy or a diseased mind*. It can never prevent an *injured people from rising, if out of irons*, nor can it take away corrupted air, unless it reduce the number so low, as not to make it worth the while of the slave-merchants to transport them.

obliged to make use of means for the preservation of the cargo, contrary to his feelings and sense of humanity.

Mr. Falconbridge, that it is an unnatural, iniquitous, and villainous trade, and he, could not reconcile it to his conscience.

Capt. Wilson declares that it is a trade evidently founded in injustice and treachery, manifestly carried on by oppression and cruelty, and not unfrequently terminating in murder.

Capt. Hall declares likewise that he quitted it from a conviction that it was perfectly illegal, and founded in blood.

CHAP. IV.

Africans, when bought, their general Estimation, Treatment, &c.

THE natives of Africa, when bought by the European Colonists, are generally esteemed, says Dr. Jackson, *a species of inferior beings whom the right of purchase gives the owner a power of using at his will.* Consistently with this definition we find the evidence asserting with one voice, that they "have no legal protection against their masters;" and, of course, that "their treatment varies according to the disposition of their masters."

If their masters be good men, says the Dean of Middleham, they are well off; but, if not, they suffer. The general treatment, however, is described to be very severe.

The field slaves are called out by daylight to their work. For this purpose the bell blows, and they hurry into the field. If they are not there in time, they are flogged. When put to their work, they perform it in rows, and without exception under the whip of the drivers, a certain number of whom are allotted to each gang. By these means the weak are made to keep up with the strong. Mr. Fitzmaurice is sorry to say, that from this cause many of them are hurried to the grave; as the able, even if placed with the weakly to bring them up, will leave them behind, and then the weakly are generally flogged up by the driver.

It is asserted by Dalrymple that the drivers in using their whip never distinguish sex. As to pregnant women and such as had children, Mr. Davies believes they were allowed to come into the field later than the rest. They did little work after they were four months gone with child, in the experience of Mr. Duncan. Dr. Harrison has known overseers allow complaining pregnant women to retire from work, but he has seen them labouring in the field, when they seemed to have but a few months to go: they were generally worked as long as able. Much the same work was expected, says Mr. Cook, from pregnant women as others. He has seen them holing till within a few hours of their delivery; and he has known them receive thirty-nine lashes while in this state. Mr. Woolrich thinks the pregnant women had some little indulgencies, but it was customary for them to work in the field till near their time. The whip was occasionally used upon them, but not so severely as upon the men. Mr. Rees, observing the gangs

at work, saw a pregnant woman rather behind the rest. The driver called her to come on, and going back struck her with the whip up towards her shoulder. He asked another pregnant woman, if she was forced to work like the rest, and she said, Yes. Sir George Young adds, that women were considered to miscarry, in general, from their hard field-labour; and Capt. Hall says, that, where they had children, they were sent again after the month to labour with the children upon their backs, and so little time allowed them to attend their wants, that he has seen a woman seated to give suck to her child, roused from that situation by a severe blow of the cart whip*.

Mr. Cook states, that in crop season, the slaves work eighteen hours out of the twenty-four, and are often hurt *through mere fatigue and want of sleep*. He knew a girl lose her hand by the mill while feeding it; for, being overcome by sleep, she dropped against the rollers. He has heard of several instances of this kind.

Mr. Cook likewise says, that they have not sufficient food. He has known both Africans and *Créoles*† eat the putrid carcases of animals, and is convinced they did it *through want*. Mr. J. Terry has known them, on estates *where they have been worse fed than on others*, eat the putrid carcases of animals also. Dead mules, horses, and cows, says Mr. Coor, were all burnt under the inspection of a white man. Had they been buried, the negroes would have dug them up in the night to eat them *through hunger*. It was generally said to be done to prevent the negroes from eating them, lest it should breed distempers.

Mr. Cook says, that they are in general but very indifferently clothed, and that *one half of them go almost naked into the field*.

Mr. Woolrich states their houses to be small square huts, built with poles, and thatched at the top and sides with a kind of bamboo, and built by the slaves themselves. He describes them as lying in the middle of these huts, before a small fire, but to have no bedding. Some, he says, obtain a board or mat to lie on before the fire. A few of the head slaves have cabins of boards raised from the floor, but no bedding; except some, who have a coarse blanket.

Some of the new slaves, says Dr. Harrison, have a few blankets, but it is not the general practice: for in general they have no bedding at all.

The greatest property Mr. M. Terry ever knew a field-slave to possess, was two pigs and a little poultry. *A field-slave has not the means of getting much property.*

* In some estates it is usual to dig a hole in the ground, in which they put the bellies of pregnant women, while they whip them, that they may not excuse punishment, nor yet endanger the life of the woman or child. (Dr. Jackson, Lieutenant Davison).

† All those born in the islands are called *Créoles*,

Mr

Mr. J. Terry has known the field-slaves so poor, *as not to be able to have poultry.*

All the evidences agree in saying, that they never knew nor heard of a field-slave ever amassing such a sum, as enabled him to purchase *his own freedom.*

With respect to the out-door slaves, several persons, who have a few slaves, and little work, allow them to work out, and oblige them to bring home three or four bits a day. The situation of these is considered to be very hard; for they are often unable to find work, and to earn the stated sum; and yet, if they fail, they are severely punished. Mr. Clappeson has known them steal grass, and sell it, to make up the sum required.

In this description may be ranked such as follow the occupation of porters. These are allowed to work out, and at the end of the week obliged to bring home to their masters a certain weekly sum. Their situation is much aggravated, by having no fixed rates. If, says * Foster, on being offered too little for their work they remonstrate, they are often beaten, and receive nothing; and should they refuse the next call from the same person, they are summoned before a magistrate, and punished on the parade for refusal, and he has known them so punished.

To the same description belong those unhappy females, who have leave to go out for prostitution, and are obliged to bring their owners a certain payment per week. Handsome women are expected to bring home more money than the ordinary. They are punished if they return *without the full wages of their prostitution.*

In the town many people have their slaves flogged upon their own premises, in which case it is performed by a man who is paid for it.

When they are flogged on the wharf, to which they go for the convenience of the cranes and weights, they are described, (H. Ross, Morley, Jeffries, Towne, and Capt. Scott,) to have their arms tied to the books of the crane, and weights of fifty-six pounds applied to their feet. In this situation the crane is wound up, so that it lifts them nearly from the ground, and keeps them nearly in a stretched posture, when the whip or cow skin is used. After this, they are again whipped, but with *ebony bushes* (which are more prickly than the thorn-bushes in this country) in order to let out the congealed blood. Captain Scott describing it, says he saw one so flogged. The next day he saw the same negro lying on the beach, and, with the assistance of another, taking the prickles out of his breech, seemingly swelled and bloody. The negro assigned as a reason for the whipping, the wharfinger thought *he had staid too long on an errand.*

Dr. Harrison thought the whippings too severe to be inflicted on any of the human species. He saw one who was flogged for

* Mr. Foster speaks of Antigua.

not coming when he was called. He could lay two or three fingers in the wounds made by the whip. The man was ill in consequence of it five or six weeks.

General Tottenham observes, that he was at a planter's house when the jumper came. He heard him ask the master if he had any commands for him. The master replied, No. The jumper then asked the mistress, who replied, Yes. She directed him to take out two very decent women, who attended at table, and to give each of them a dozen lashes. General Tottenham expostulated with her, but in vain. They were taken out to the public parade, and he had the curiosity to go with them. The jumper carried a long whip like our waggoner's. He ordered one of the women to turn her back, and to take up her cloathes entirely, and he gave her a dozen on the breech. Every stroke brought flesh from her. She behaved with astonishing fortitude. After the punishment, she, according to the custom, curtesied and thanked him: the other had the same punishment, and behaved in the same way.

Mr. Coor has known many receive from 100 to 150 lashes, and some two cool hundreds, as they are called. He has known many returned to confinement, and in one, two, or three days receive the same complement, or thereabouts, as before. Cruel whipping, hard working, and starving have, to his knowledge, made many commit suicide. He remembers fourteen slaves, who, from bad treatment, rebelled on a Sunday, ran into the woods, and all cut their throats together.

Falconbridge, General Tottenham, and Towne agree in saying, either that they *hardly ever saw any*, or that *very few were to be seen* without scars or other marks of the whip.

The whip, says Woolrich, is generally made of plaited cow-skin, with a thick strong lash. It is so formidable an instrument, in the hands of some of the overseers, that, by means of it, they can take the skin off a horse's back. He has heard them boast of laying the marks of it in a deal board, and he has seen it done. On its application on a slave's back, he has seen the blood spurt out immediately on the first stroke*.

At every stroke †, says Captain Smith, *a piece of flesh was drawn out*. Dalrymple avers the same thing. It will even *bring blood through the breeches*, says J. Terry; and such is the effusion of blood on those occasions, adds Fitzmaurice, as to make their frocks, if immediately put on, appear *as stiff as buckram*; and Coor ob-

* The military whip, says General Tottenham, cuts the skin, whereas that for the negroes cuts the flesh.

† Dr. Jackson and others mention another kind of whip in use, which they describe to be like what our waggoners use, and to be thrown at the distance of three or four paces, which, the former observes greatly increases the weight of the lashes. To this whip Captain Cook alludes, when he says, a dextrous flogger could strike so exactly as to lodge the point of the lash just within the flesh, where it would remain till picked out with his finger and thumb.

serves, that, at his first going to Jamaica, a sight of a common flogging would put him in a tremble so, that he did not feel right for the rest of the day. The wheals, cuts, or marks are described by Captain Thompson, Dean of Middleham, Mr Jefferys, and General Tottenham, as indelible, as lasting to old age, or as such as no time can erase; and Woolrich has often seen their backs one undistinguished mass of lumps, holes, and furrows.

Fitzmaurice has often known pregnant women so severely whipped, as to have miscarried in consequence of it. Clappeson also knew a pregnant woman whipped and delivered on the spot. He also knew a negro girl die of a mortification of her wounds, two days after the whipping had taken place. A planter flogged his driver to death, and even boasted of it.

Captain Ross has seen a negro woman, in Jamaica, flogged with *sabon bushes* (much worse than our thorn bushes) so that the skin of her back was taken off down to her heels. She was then turned round, and flogged from her breast down to her waist; and, in consequence, he saw her afterwards walking upon all fours, and unable to get up.

A negro man in Jamaica, says Dr. Harrison, was put on the picket so long as to cause a mortification of his foot and hand, on suspicion of robbing his master, a public officer, of a sum of money; which, it afterwards appeared, the master had taken himself. He was punished by order of the master, who did not chuse to make it known that he himself had made use of the money.

Jeffreys, Captain Ross, Mr. Terry, and Coor, mention the cutting off of ears as another species of punishment. The last gentleman gives the following instance in Jamaica: One of the house-girls having broken a plate, or spilt a cup of tea, the doctor (with whom Mr. Coor boarded) nailed her ear to a post. Mr. Coor remonstrated in vain. They went to bed and left her there. In the morning she was gone, having torn the head of the nail through her ear. She was soon brought back, and, when Mr. Coor came to breakfast, he found she had been very severely whipped by the doctor, who, in his fury, clipped both her ears off, close to her head, with a pair of large scissars; and she was sent to pick seeds out of cotton, among three or four more, emaciated by his cruelties, until they were fit for nothing else.

Mr. Jefferys has seen slaves with one of their hands off, which he understood to have been cut off for lifting it against a white man.

Captain Giles, Dr. Jackson, Mr. Fitzmaurice, and Mr. M. Terry, have seen negroes, whose legs have been cut off, by their master's orders, for running away.

Mr. Fitzmaurice mentions, among other instances of cruelty, that of dropping hot lead upon negroes; which he often saw practised by a planter of the name of Rushie, during his residence in Jamaica. He likewise found him one day in the act of hanging a negro. Captain Ross says also, that there was a certain planter in the same island, who had hanged a negro on a post close to his house;

B

and,

and, in three years, destroyed forty negroes out of sixty, by severity *. The rest of the conduct of this planter, as described by Captain Ross, was, after a debate, cancelled by the Committee of the House of Commons, who took the evidence, as containing circumstances too horrible to be given to the world.

An overseer, on the estate where Mr. J. Terry was, in Grenada, (Mr. Coghlan), threw a slave into *the boiling cane-juice*, who died in four days.

Mr. Woolrich says, a negro ran away from a planter in Tortola, with whom he was well acquainted. The overseer having orders to *take him dead or alive*, a while after found him in one of his huts, fast asleep, in the day time, and *shot him through the body*. The negro, jumping up, said, "What, you kill me asleep!" and dropped dead immediately. The overseer *took off his head*, and carried it to the owner.

Lieutenant Davison has seen a slave, both *whose nostrils have been slit by her mistress's order*.

Lieutenant Davison, Captain Smith, and Dr. Jackson, all agree that it *was common for ladies of respectability and rank to superintend the punishment of their slaves*. Dr. Harrison says that, in Jamaica, a negro was flogged to death by her mistress's order, who stood by to see the punishment. Lieutenant Davison states that, in the same island, he has seen several negro girls at work with the needle, in the presence of their mistresses, with a thumb-screw on their left thumbs, and he has seen the blood gush out from the end of them.

Captain Cook relates, that two young ladies of fortune, in Barbadoes, sisters, one of whom was displeased at the pregnancy of a female slave, belonging to the other, by the son of the surgeon attending the estate, proceeded to some very derogatory acts of cruelty. *With their own garters they tied the young woman neck and heels, and then beat her almost to death with the heels of their shoes*.

Lieutenant Davison states, in his evidence, that the clergyman's wife at Port Royal, was remarkably cruel. She used to drop *hot sealing-wax* on her negroes, after flogging them. He was sent for as surgeon to one of them, whose breast was terribly burnt with sealing-wax. He was also once called in to a woman slave, who had been *tied up all night* by her hands, and been *abused with cayenne pepper, by the same mistress*, and in a way too horrid and indecent to mention.

Mr. Forster says, he and many others saw a young woman, of fortune and character, flogging a negro man very severely *with her own hands*. Many similar instances he could relate, if necessary. *They are almost innumerable among the domestic slaves*.

* It is not improbable, but that Captain Ross and Mr. Fitzmaurice allude to the same person.

On the subject of capital punishments, a man and woman slave are mentioned to have been hanged; the man for * running away, and the woman for having secreted him. The Dean of Middleham saw two instances of slaves being gibbeted alive in chains.

Dalrymple, Forster, Captain Smith, Captain Wilson, and General Tottenham, assert that *it is no uncommon thing* for persons to neglect and turn off their slaves, when past labour; *to plunder, beg, or starve*. General Tottenham has often met them; and, once in particular, an old woman, past labour, who told him that her master had *set her adrift to shift for herself*. He saw her, about three days afterwards, *lying dead* in the same place. This custom of turning them off, when old and helpless, is called in the islands (Captain Wilson and Captain Lloyd) "giving them free."

General Tottenham, about three weeks before the hurricane, saw a youth, about nineteen, walking in the streets, in a most deplorable situation; *entirely naked, and with an iron-collar about his neck, with five long projecting spikes*. His body, before and behind, his breech, belly, and thighs, were almost cut to pieces; and with running sores all over them; and you might put your finger in some of the *wounds*. He could not sit down, owing to his breech being in a state of mortification, and it was impossible for him to lie down, from the projection of the prongs. The boy came to the General, and asked relief. He was shocked at his appearance, and asked him *what he had done to suffer such a punishment*, and who inflicted it. He said it was his master, who lived about two miles out of town; and that as he could not work, he would give him nothing to eat.

Captain Lloyd says, it was the practice of a certain planter, to frame pretences for the execution of his old worn-out slaves, in order to get the * island allowance. And it was supposed that he dealt largely in that way.

Two slaves, says Captain Cook, were murdered and thrown into the road, during his residence in Barbadoes; yet no legal enquiry ever took place, that he heard of.

They often complain, says Dr. Jackson, that they are an oppressed people; that they suffer in this world, but expect happiness in the next; whilst they denounce the vengeance of God on the white men, their oppressors. If you speak to them of future punishments, they say, "*Why should a poor negro be punished; he does no wrong. Fiery cauldrons, and such things, are reserved for white people, as punishments for the oppression of slaves.*"

The Reverend Mr. Stuart says, that every description of the treatment of negroes falls short of their real state. He read Mr. Ramsay's Essay in manuscript at St. Kitts, and, comparing it on the spot with the treatment of the slaves, he thought it too favourable.

* Slaves running away are punished variously; but on absenting themselves for a certain time, they may be punished with death.

* The island allowance, in Jamaica, to the master is 40 l. currency, for any one of his slaves, if executed for a breach of the laws.

CHAP. V.

Whether the Natives of Africa, thus procured, transported, and enslaved, are not equal to the Europeans in Capacity, &c.

MR. WADSTROM thinks the understandings of the natives of Africa capable of equal improvement with those of the whites; and, as a proof, he states several of the manufactures, which they carry on from the river Senegal to the river Sallum.

The natives, says he, are particularly skilful in manufacturing gold and iron. The art of working the former he believes they derived from the Moors; but they are now almost the sole artists themselves, having never seen but one Moor working in that branch. They are equal to any European goldsmith in filagree or trinket work. They manufacture also cloth and leather with uncommon neatness. The former they dye also blue, yellow, brown, and orange.

Besides the above, they are skilful in making indigo and soap. They make also pottery-ware, and prepare salt, for their own use, from the sea-water.

Nearly the same accounts are given of their manufactures by Dalrymple, Kiernan, and Captain Wilson; and Hall, Newton, Surgeon Wilson, Sir George Young, Falconbridge, Captain Thompson, and Towne (without enumerating their manufactures like the former) declare their capacities, either to be good, or equal to those of the Europeans.

Mr. Wadstrom is clearly convinced, that the natives of Africa actually surpass, in affection, such of the Europeans as he has known.

On the moral character of the natives, Mr. Wadstrom says, that they are *very honest and hospitable*. He has often passed days and nights alone with them without the least fear, and was treated with all civility and kindness.

Captain Wilton calls them *grateful and affectionate*.

Captain Thompson, in speaking of them, calls them *harmless and innocent*. Storey, Dalrymple, Howe, Towne, and Bowman, join in the epithets of "*friendly and hospitable*;" to which the latter add, "*just and punctual in their dealings*;" and they are described by Hall to be *as capable of virtue as the whites*.

Captain Smith says, he always considered them as a keen, sensible, well-disposed people, *where their habits were not vitiated by cruel usage on the part of the Europeans*.

CHAP. VI.

Whether a Trade could not be carried on to Africa, if the Slave Trade were abolished.

AMONG the productions of Africa, mentioned by the different evidences, may be reckoned millet of various sorts, pulse, Indigo

Maize corn, and rice. Of the last of these articles, it appears to have been proved often by experiment, that it is much *heartier and better than the Carolina.*

In the next class may be reckoned *cotton, indigo, tobacco, and the sugar-cane.*

In the next class may be mentioned *black pepper, long pepper, Malagutta, or grains of paradise, red pepper of various sorts; but particularly the Cayenne, a species of ginger, cardamums, wild nutmegs, and cinnamon.*

In the fourth class may be mentioned *gum of various sorts, but particularly the gum copal.*

In the fifth class may be included *iron, wood, bar-wood, and ebony.*

In the sixth class may be added *wax, honey, palm-oil, ivory, and gold; and in a seventh, plantanes, yams, sweet potatoes, eddoes, cassada, cocoanuts, bananas, pine-apples, oranges, limes, wild grapes, and other tropical productions.*

Mr. Wadstrom observes of the natives of Africa, that they have *an extraordinary genius for commerce, and that their industry is, in all regards, proportionate to their demands.*

Mr. Falconbridge is so sure that, *if properly encouraged, they would make any change the Europeans pleased; that he is himself going again to Africa, to make the experiment.*

Lieutenant Simpson avers that, on repeatedly asking the black traders what they would do, *if the slave-trade were abolished, he was repeatedly answered, that they would soon find out another trade.*

CHAP. VII.

Whether the Slave Trade be not a Grave for the Seamen employed in it, &c.

IT appears, from an abstract of the muster-rolls of Liverpool and Bristol slave ships, that, in 350 vessels, 12,263 seamen were employed; out of whom 2643 were lost: that is to say, that *more than a fifth of the whole number employed, or more than seven in every single voyage, perished.*

Captain Hall, of the merchants service, says that the crews of African ships, when they arrive in the West Indies, are generally *(he does not know a single instance to the contrary) in a sickly, debilitated state; and the seaman, who are discharged or desert in the West Indies, are the most miserable objects he ever met with in any country in his life. He has frequently seen them with their toes rotted off, their legs swelled to the size of their thighs, and in an ulcerated state all over.*

The seamen belonging to slave vessels are described as *lying about the wharfs and cranes, or wandering about the streets or islands*

islands * *full of sores and ulcers*, by Jefferys, Dalrymple, Ellifon, Morley, Davison, Baillie, Towne, Bowman, H. Ross, Douglass, Simpson, Thompson, and Forster. The epithets also of *sickly, emaciated, abject, deplorable objects*, are applied to them. They are mentioned again to be *desitute and starving*, and *without the means of support*; no merchantman taking them in, because *they were unable to work*; and men of war refusing them, *for fear of infection*. Many of them are also described to be lying about in a *dying state*; and others have been actually found dead, and the bodies of others have been seen carrying by the negroes to be interred.

It may be remarked here, that this diseased and forlorn state of the seamen is so inseparable from the slave trade, that the different evidences have not only witnessed it at Jamaica, Antigua, and Barbadoes; but wherever they have seen Guineamen arrive, namely at St. Vincents, Grenada, Dominique, and in North America also †.

Mr. Newton asserts, that a trade in the natural productions of Africa might be carried on, without much exposure to weather and ill-treatment ‡, the natural attendants on the slave trade: and Sir George Young is of opinion, that a trade in the natural productions of Africa would not be attended with more inconvenience to the health of the seamen employed in it, than the present West India trade §.

It appears that men of war, going to the same coast, do not experience the same proportion of loss.

Captain Scott of the Merlin, which carried 100 men, lost eight, of whom only four died of the disorders of the country.

Sir George Young, in the ship he commanded, which had 100 men, lost two, who were sickly when they left England, and a boy by accident.

* It is asserted by the evidence, that they never saw any other than Guinea seamen in that state in the West Indies.

† The reason why such immense numbers are left behind in the West Indies, as are found in this deplorable state, are the following. The seamen leave their ships from ill usage, says Ellifon. It is usual for Captains, says Clappeson and Young, to treat them ill, that they may desert and forfeit their wages. Three others state, they are left behind purposely by their Captain; and Mr. H. Ross adds, in these emphatical words, "that it was no uncommon thing for the Captain to send on shore, a few hours before they sail, their lame, emaciated, and sick seamen, leaving them to perish."

‡ It is evident, that insurrection and contagious distempers from the slaves must be natural causes of mortality to seamen in slave-ships, which could not exist in ships in the other trade.

§ It was formerly urged by the enemies of the abolition, that the West India trade was as destructive to seamen as the slave trade; but by an account made up for the House of Commons, from the muster-rolls of West Indiamen, it appears that, out of 462 vessels, carrying 7640 seamen, only 118 were lost, or about one in 65.

Captain Thompson, of the *Nautilus*, out of one hundred, buried one, who died by his own neglect.

Captain Hills, of the *Zephyr*, out of ninety buried none.

And Captain Wilson, of the *Race-Horse*, out of one hundred did not lose a man. Thus, out of four hundred and ninety, in the ships of war, only twelve were buried *.

That the seamen employed in the slave-trade are worse fed, both in point of quantity and quality of provisions, than the seamen in other trades, is allowed by most of the evidences; and that they have little or no shelter, day or night, from the inclemency of the weather, during the whole of the middle passage, is acknowledged by them all.

Sir George Young remarks, that those seamen whom he saw in the slave-trade, while on the coast in a man of war, complained of their ill treatment, bad feeding, and cruel usage. They all of them wanted to enter on board his ship. It was likewise the custom for the seamen of every ship he saw at a distance, to come on board him with their boats; most of them quite naked, and threaten to turn pirates, if he did not take them. This they told him openly. He is persuaded, if he had given them encouragement, and had had a ship of the line to have manned, he could have done it in a very short time; for they would all have left their ships. He has also received several seamen on board his ship from the woods, where they had no subsistence, but to which they had fled for refuge from their respective vessels.

Captain Hall (of the merchant service) believes the seamen are in general treated with great barbarity in the slave ships, and he does not know of their being ill treated in any other service.

Captain Thompson concludes, from the many complaints he received from seamen, while on the coast, that they are far from being well treated on board *slave-ships*. He is inclined to think, that *ships trading in the produce of Africa, are not so ill used as those in the slave-ships*. Several of his own officers gave him the best accounts of the treatment in the *Iris*, a vessel trading for wood, gums, and ivory, near which the *Nautilus* lay for some weeks.

Mr. Simpson says, that he never heard any complaints from *West Indiamen, or other merchant-ships*;—on the contrary, they wished to avoid a man of war; whereas, if the Captain of the *Adventure* had listened to all the complaints made to him, from sailors of slave-ships, and removed them, he must have greatly distressed the African trade.

* It must be remarked, that when Captain Scott lost eight out of one hundred, it was in the year 1769, since which time great improvements have been made for the health of the seamen; and that the Editor (of the Abstract of the Evidence) knows, that the men of war, now going to Africa, seldom lose a man.

Captain Hall, of the navy, asserts, that as to peculiar modes of punishment adopted in Guineamen, he once saw a man chained by the neck, in the main-top of a slave-ship, when passing under the stern of his Majesty's ship *Crescent*, in Kingston Bay, St. Vincent; and was told by part of the crew, taken out of the ship, at their own request, that the man had been there *one hundred and twenty days*. He says he has great reason to believe, that in *no trade are seamen so badly treated as in the slave-trade*, from their *always flying to men of war for redress*, and whenever they come within reach; whereas men from *West India or other trades seldom apply to a ship of war* *.

The Rev. Mr. Newton agrees in the † ill usage of the seamen alluded to, and believes that the *slave-trade* itself is a great cause of it: for he thinks, that the real or supposed necessity of treating negroes with rigour, *gradually brings a numbness upon the heart, and renders most of those who are engaged in it too indifferent to the sufferings of their fellow-creatures*; and he supposes there is *no trade in which seamen are treated with so little humanity as in the African slave-trade*. He has himself seen the sailors, *when sick, beaten for being lazy, till they have died under the blows*.

CHAP VIII.

Whether it be true, as some say, that the Natives of Africa are happier in the European Colonies than in their own Country.

IF there be any slaves happier in the colonies than in their own country, they must be such as were formerly slaves in their own country; and if so, the African must be shewn to be more oppressive than the colonial slavery.

This, however, is so far from being the case, that, as Mr. H. Ross observes, though on another occasion, any comparison between the two is ‡ an insult to common sense. The slaves in

* The circumstance of seamen in the slave-trade being desirous of leaving their ships, and of those in other trades staying by them, when in sight of men of war, is confirmed also by Captain, Smith and Wilson, of the navy.

† If it should be asked, how it happens that seamen enter for slave-vessels, when such general ill usage there can hardly fail of being known; the reply must be taken from the evidence, "that, whereas some of them enter voluntarily, the greater part of them are trepanned; for that it is the business of certain landlords to make them intoxicated, and get them into debt, after which *their only alternative is a Guineaman or a goal*."

‡ Some have even gone so far, as to say, that they are happier than the labouring poor of this country: but it has been most amply refuted by Woolrich, Captain Wilson, Jeffreys, Rees, Dean of Middleham, and H. Ross; the latter of whom, though he compared the different circumstances in their respective situations at the request of the committee, pre-faced it, by saying, that any comparison between the state of the two, was *an insult to common sense*.

Africa

Africa are mentioned by Mr. Towne, as *never ill used* by their own people. They are treated, says Mr. Kiernan, as Europeans treat people of *their own family*. They are described again, by Hall and Dalrymple, as *eating and drinking with their masters*. Captain Wilson says also, *they live with their masters*, and are *not distinguishable from them*. Mr. Falconbridge never saw any whom, *by their treatment, he could say were slaves*. Mr. Wadstrom speaks of them as *well used*, and Mr. Morley, as *treated with kindness, and better than in the West Indies*.

Mr. M. Cook has often heard Africans, in the West Indies, express *their praise of their own country*, and their *regret at leaving it*. Lieutenant Davison observes, it is common for sick Africans to say, *with pleasure, they are going to die, and are going home, from this Buccra (or white mans) country*. It is also notorious, that the Africans, when brought into the colonies, frequently destroy themselves. Dr. Harrison, Coor, M. Terry, Cook, Fitzmaurice, Clappeson, Baillie, Dalrymple, Davison, Dean of Middleham, Captain Ross, and Woolrich, all agree in this fact. The causes of it are in general described to be *ill treatment, the desire of returning home, and the preference of death to life, when in the situation of slaves*; all of which are so many proofs of their *superior happiness in their own country*. It is also very remarkable, as we find from Mr. Coor, that these acts of desperation should have been so frequent, as to have occasioned it to have passed into an observation, "that the Gold Coast negroes, when driven to despair, *always cut their throats*, and those of the most inland country *mostly hang themselves*."

Mr. Fitzmaurice has known too many suicides, among new negroes especially, both by hanging themselves, and dirt-eating, which *they knew to be fatal*. He lost one year twelve new negroes by it, though he fed them well. On his remonstrating with them, they constantly told him they preferred dying to living. A great proportion of the new negroes that go on sugar estates, *die in this way*.

A planter, says Woolrich, purchased six men-slaves out of a Guinea ship, and put them on a small island, to plant cotton. They had a white man with them as overseer, who left them on a Saturday night. There were no white inhabitants on the island. On the Monday following the overseer returned, when he found *all the six hanging near together in the woods*. M. Woolrich often enquired of the most sensible negroes, what could be the cause of such actions; and the answer was, "*that they would rather die than live in the situation they were in*."

The last proof, and that an irrefragable one, how much happier the Africans are in their own country than in the colonies, may be adduced from the *great joy* which is discovered at their funerals by their fellow-slaves; and which joy is said to proceed from the idea, that the deceased *are returning home*.

Mr.

Mr. Douglass saw three funerals of *Guinea slaves* in the West Indies. At these funerals, says he, *they sing, and are merry: and, naming the deceased, say, he is gone to Guinea.*

Great rejoicings, says Cook, are made by *African* negroes at the funerals of each other, from a belief, that the deceased *are going to their own country again.*

African negroes, says Forster, shewed the *most extravagant joy* at their friends funerals, from believing the deceased *gone back to their country.*

Captain Wilson confirms the above by stating, that he never saw any signs of happiness among *the imported slaves*, except at their funerals, when they shewed *extravagant joy*, from a persuasion that the deceased *is escaped from slavery to his own country.* Captain Wilson, however, does not stop here; for he goes on to declare, that *in Africa* their funerals *are attended with the most mournful cries.*

It is impossible to conclude this Chapter better than by an extract from the evidence of Mr. Dalrymple.—That gentleman says, he might have had the means of putting his estate in Grenada under cultivation, as he might have had slaves from the house of Backhouse and Tarlton; but having an opportunity, when on the coast of Africa, of knowing *how happy the negroes were in their own country*, and knowing the unjustifiable means by which they were made slaves there, their cruel usage when on board ship, and *their severe usage when in the West Indies*, he could not, consistently with his ideas of what was right, purchase any slaves, and particularly as he did not intend to remain on the plantation himself.

C H A P. IX.

Whether the Africans, by good Usage, have not encreased in the Colonies, &c.

CAPTAIN ROSS says, he knows of three estates in the island of Jamaica, one belonging to Lord Dudley, another to Messrs. Muir and Atkinson, and a third to Mr. Malcolm, on which there was a *considerable encrease by birth.*

Lieutenant Davison knew an estate where the negroes were *all creoles.*

In the same island, and parish of Clarendon, the negroes on Rambury estate encreased so fast, says Mr. Fitzmaurice, that a gang of them was drawn off to settle a new estate, called Yarmouth.

Mr. Forster, speaking of the island of Antigua, says, that on the whole of Colonel Farley's plantations they had no need of new negroes.

Mr. Giles says, that on the two estates where he lived, the encrease of the slaves, under a milder treatment in the island of St. Croix, exceeded their decrease by one per cent.

Captain

Captain Hall, of the navy, mentions an estate belonging to the Marquis de Rouvray, in the island of St. Domingo, where, in consequence of good usage, the slaves encreased so fast as to render any farther purchase unnecessary.

Field slaves, cultivating cotton, pimento, and coffee, are described by Mr. Cook, as *being treated better*, and as *encreasing faster by birth* than those employed on sugar estates.

African negroes, transported to the *East Indies*, have by good usage *encreased there*.

African negroes, also, transported to different parts of North America, have, in consequence of being ** better used*, *encreased by population there*.

Dr. Harrison's distinction between the difference of the treatment of negroes by the West Indians and Americans, is as follows: In Jamaica, he says, slaves were generally treated ill, and only individuals treated them well: in Carolina, on the other hand, they were generally treated well, and only individuals used them ill.—Let us now see the consequences.

Mr. Dove says, that from 1774 to 1783, there were no importation of slaves to Boston or New York; and yet he thinks that they did not decrease in their number during that period.

It was generally believed, says Mr. Stuart, that the Carolina slaves encreased without importation.

Mr. Baillie also, speaking of Carolina, believes the negroes are raised there in as great a proportion as children in Europe, when they are in healthy situations; notwithstanding which, he observes, that the *cultivation of rice is as laborious as that of sugar*, and that the *climate of Jamaica is much more favourable to the constitution of the negroes than that of Carolina*.

Dr. Harrison, who gives his opinion as a medical man, says, that the climate of Jamaica is *more favourable* to the increase of slaves than that of Carolina; notwithstanding which disadvantage, *Carolina encreased in slaves, while those in Jamaica decreased*.

Mr. Irving says, that the breeding of slaves in Carolina was considered *so advantageous*, that the planter generally valued a child, on the day of its birth, at five pounds.

Mr. Crew states also, that the negroes in Virginia encreased rapidly without importation; so much so, that it was a general opinion, *that it was profitable to hold slaves on this account, exclusive of the profits of their labour*. He thinks, at the same time, that the *culture of tobacco is nearly as laborious as that of sugar*, and that the climate of Virginia is not so favourable as that of the West Indies to *African constitutions*, on account of the *severe † cold*

* The evidence unanimously maintains, that their usage is better in America than in the West Indies.

† As a farther proof, that the climate of North America is not congenial to the African constitution, it appears from Baillie and Beverley, that the negroes are always healthier in the summer than in the winter.

in the winter. Mr. Crew observes, that the importation of African slaves into Virginia has been generally discontinued since 1772.

The causes of the encrease by births, on one of the estates mentioned, *viz.* on the Marquis de Rouvray, of St. Domingo, are described by Capt. Hall, as follows :

The slaves were never hard pressed in their work. The Marquis suffered no improper intercourse between the males and females ; every man had his own wife, and no white was suffered to disjoin that union. Hospitals were built for the sick and pregnant. The latter, when far advanced in their pregnancy, were taken in there, and employed in trifling work, till the time of delivery. Here they might remain, separated from their husbands, and excused from field labour, till the child could be supported without the mother's help, or when their strength would permit, return with the child to their husband, and take the chance of work. In consequence, the Marquis had not for some years occasion to buy negroes. Having, however, left his estate to the care of a nephew, upon his return, after an absence of two years, instead of the happiness that reigned when he left it, he found nothing but misery and discontent. The whites had seized upon the pretty women : their husbands, through discontent, ran away ; and the labour falling heavier upon the rest, they became discontented, and their work was badly carried on ; so that it cost him two years before he could re-establish order. It was a pleasure to walk through his estate ; for the slaves used to look upon him as a father.

That an opinion prevails in the colonies, that it is cheaper to buy than to breed slaves, is too evident. But the reverse of this opinion appears to be true. Dalrymple, Captain Wilson, Harrison, and Sir George Young, all affirm, that in their time, it was thought by some planters to be *cheaper to buy than to breed.* If a negro lasted a certain time, says Baillie, his death was accounted nothing. This time is described by Fitzmaurice to be seven years. Captain Giles also heard the term of seven years affixed for the existence of a gang of negroes, which he saw ; and we find a man of the name of Yemman, by Captain Scott's account, reducing his calculation to four years, treating his slaves most cruelly, and saying, that four years labour of a negro was enough for him ; for that *he then had his pennyworth out of him, and he did not care what became of him afterwards.*

There is one circumstance that leads us strongly to suspect that this opinion is not so well founded as its general prevalence should warrant, which is, that *one third of all that are bought die in the seasoning.* This seasoning is not a distemper, but is the time an African takes to be so habituated to the colonial labours, as to be counted an effective supply.

Mr. Forster recollects a planter, who bought thirty new negroes, and lost them all within the year. Those estates, he says, which

which bought the greatest number of new negroes, were not thought to be the most flourishing. It was exactly the reverse.

On an estate which Mr. Coor knew, the proprietor was often buying lots of twenty, thirty, or forty slaves; and yet this man, by ill using them (*which ill usage is inseparably connected with the buying system*), suffered a reduction, both in the number of his negroes, and the produce of his estate, so that from good circumstances his credit was, in eleven years, reduced to a low ebb.

Captain Scott was present at the sale of Yemman's property, the person mentioned to have adopted the system of buying, in preference to that of breeding, and working his negroes up in the space of four years.

It may be added here, from the evidence, that the breeding of slaves was considered so profitable in some parts of America, that people held them for this purpose alone, independently of any prospect from the fruits of their labour*.

Having now mentioned a few of the principal facts contained in the evidence offered to Parliament, by the petitioners of Great Britain, in behalf of the abolition of the slave-trade, we cannot close these extracts better than in the words of Mr. Hercules Ross: he says, " Finally, as the result of his observations, and most serious reflection, he hesitates not to say, that the trade for slaves ought to be abolished, not only as contrary to sound policy, but to the laws of God and nature; and were it possible, by the present enquiry, to convey a just knowledge of the extensive misery it occasions, every kingdom of Europe must unite in calling on their legislatures, to abolish the human traffic. This is not a hasty, or a new sentiment, formed on the present discussion, which has in no respect influenced his judgment. The same opinion he publicly delivered seventeen years ago in Kingston, Jamaica, in a society formed of the first characters of the place, on debating the following question (proposed, he thinks, by the late Mr. Thomas Hibbert, who had been forty or fifty years the most eminent Guinea factor there):—" Whether the trade to Africa for slaves was consistent with sound policy, the laws of nature, and morality?"—This discussion occupied several meetings, and at last it was determined by a majority, that the trade to Africa for slaves, was neither consistent with sound policy, the laws of nature, nor morality."

In corroboration of the foregoing, we will now make a few extracts from West India laws, and public prints.

* Many advantages appear by the evidence to result from the system of breeding slaves, and using them well. Suicide and rebellion are peculiar to the imported slaves. Hence the peace of mind and the interest of the proprietor are materially concerned; and it fully appears, that such slaves do much more work than the others in the same time.

Bahama Islands.—So lately as in 1784, it was enacted there; that “ if any slave shall absent him or herself from his or her owner, for the space of three months successively, such slave shall be deemed an outlaw; and, as an encouragement to apprehend and bring to justice such runaways, any person or persons who shall apprehend any such runaway, *either alive or dead*, shall be paid out of the public treasury twenty pounds, for every slave so apprehended and taken, &c. * ”

St. Christopher.—“ An act to prevent the cutting off or depriving any slaves in this island of any of their limbs or members, or otherwise disabling them.”—Passed March 11th, 1784. “ Whereas some persons have of late been guilty of *cutting off and depriving slaves of their ears*, which practice is contrary to the principles of humanity, and dishonourable to society; for prevention whereof in future, be it enacted by the governor, &c. That if any owner or possessor of any negro, *or other slave*, in this island, shall willfully and wantonly cut or disable, or cause or procure to be cut or disabled, *the tongue*; put out or cause or procure to be put out, *an eye*; slit *the nose, ear, or lip*, or cut off a nose, ear, or lip, or cause the same to be done; or break or cause to be broken, *the arm, leg, or any other limb, or member*, of any negro, &c.” The penalty is 500*l.* currency, or about 300*l.* sterling, and six months imprisonment.”

Barbadoes.—“ An act to prevent distempered, maimed, and worn-out negroes, from infesting the towns, streets, and highways of this island, &c.”—Passed January 18th, 1785.

“ Whereas it has, for some time past, been the cruel practice of some persons possessing negroes, who, from *their old age and infirmities*, are incapable of further service to their inhuman owners, to drive them from their plantations, to beg, steal, or starve, which said unhappy objects are *daily* infesting the public streets of the several towns in this island, &c.” The penalty to such owner is 5*l.* currency, or about 3*l.* 12*s.* sterling; and the act ordains, that those unhappy objects shall be taken home to their masters. &c. †

Grenada, 1782.—“ Whereas the laws heretofore made for the protection of slaves have been found *insufficient*; And whereas humanity and the interest of the colony require that salutary and adequate regulations and provisions should be adopted for rendering their servitude as limited and easy as possible, and for promoting the encrease of their population, as the most likely means of removing, in the course of time, *the necessity of further importation of negroes from Africa*; And whereas these desirable ends cannot be so effectually obtained as by prescribing *reasonable bounds to the power of masters*, and others having the

* Privy Council's Report, part 3d.

† Privy Council's Report.

" charge of slaves, by *compelling them sufficiently and properly to lodge, feed, clothe, and maintain them, &c.*"

From the Jamaica paper, called the Cornwall Chronicle, of December 29th, 1787, it appears, that an addition to the consolidated slave-law was proposed in these terms :

" Whereas the *extreme cruelties and inhumanity* of the managers, owners, and book-keepers of estates, have frequently driven slaves into the woods, and occasioned rebellions and internal insurrections, to the great prejudice of the proprietor, and the manifest danger of the lives of the inhabitants of this island ; for prevention whereof, be it enacted, &c. And whereas also, it frequently happens, that slaves come to their deaths by *hasty and severe blows*, and other *improper treatment* of overseers and book-keepers, *in the heat of passion*; and, when such accidents do happen, the victims are entered in the plantation books, as *having died of convulsions, fits, or other causes not to be accounted for*, and to conceal the real truth of the cause of the death of such slave or slaves, he or they is or are *immediately put underground, &c.*"

The Member (Mr. Gray), who introduced the above premised, " That to his own certain knowledge, very *unnatural punishments* * were often inflicted on negroes ; and that in *several instances* he had been obliged to interfere as a magistrate, to prevent actual rebellion from such inhuman treatment."

In the Jamaica Paper, called the Gazette, of St. Jago de la Vega, dated October 11th, 1787, we number 97 runaway slaves advertised, viz. 45 "branded," and 52 without "brands." Among the former is "William, marked on the right shoulder "R. A. heart and diamond between, and on the left, R. A. heart at top." Also, "Batty, on both shoulders H. P. in one, and "Guy, marked on the right shoulder W. D. and on the left J. H."—In the same gazette, dated November 8th, 1787, there are notified 23 runaways marked, and 44 unmarked. Among those marked is "Apollo, W. S. on his face and breast."—Robert, R. P. on each cheek, and Kingston marked Yorker on each shoulder and breast." We find in the Cornwall Chronicle, of Jamaica, dated December 15th, 1787, "84 runaways advertised, 13 of whom only are branded." Among these are "Pompey, a creole negro man, marked on both shoulders and breasts M. L. diamond on top ; James, a carpenter, branded on both cheeks ; and "Billy, belonging to the king, marked broad arrow, on the shoulder. In the Cornwall Chronicle of October 10th, 1789, a runaway is advertised,

* Though laws are enacted, to prevent masters from cutting off the ears and noses of their slaves, and being guilty of other cruelties, the reader is not to imagine, that the master cannot do them now as heretofore ; for it is clear, that while a slave's evidence is not admitted against a white man (which is the case), he may do them with impunity at the present day.

" named

named Prince, branded on the back with a *cattle mark* T. H." In the Supplement to the Cornwall Chronicle of November 7th, 1789, there are 135 runaways advertised, viz. 48 with, and 87 without brands. Of the former some have *two, three, and four brands on the face, breasts, and shoulders*. One in particular is "marked D. E. on both cheeks and left shoulder." Among those not branded is "a woman with a wooden leg." One man is distinguished by having "*both ears cleft*, and another by "*his nose and ears being cut off*." The Jamaica Daily Advertiser of February 24th, 1791, begins thus:—"February 22d, 1791, "escaped on Sunday last, *with a chain and collar round his neck*, "a negro man, of the Mandingo country, marked T. Y. 4 "on top, &c."

In the Barbadoes Gazette of January 14, 1784, the reader will find this advertisement:—"Absented herself from the service of the subscriber, a yellow skin negro wench, named Sarah "Deroral;" whose person and surmised place of concealment being very particularly described, the advertisement ends in these words: "*Whoever will apprehend the said wench, alive or dead, "shall receive two moidores reward from*

JOSEPH CHARLES HOWARD."

The foregoing extracts form but a small part of the evidence delivered before the Committee of the House of Commons; but so small a part may serve to convey a faint idea of the whole, and be sufficient to prove, that the slave-trade, with its consequences, is fundamentally, morally, and unalterably wrong; and therefore ought not to exist under any modification whatever. To regulate it, is no other (in the language of the Right Hon. Mr. Fox) than to regulate robbery and murder. The only plea that has been advanced for its continuance, is necessity and interest; but were that a justification of it, the same plea might be made, by one or another, for almost every outrage on the peace of society, and on the comfort of individuals, that is found among men.

FINIS.